

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 236974

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 236974

TOSEC 235

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON

FOLLOWING REPEAT RABAT 05237 ACTION SECSTATE INFO

ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE ADDIS ABABA 26 OCTOBER.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L RABAT 5237

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR XF MO

SUBJ: ARAB SUMMIT: FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETINGS CONCLUDE

REFS: RABAT 5197 AND 5222

1. SUMMARY: FON MINS' MEETING ENDED OCT 26 AND SUMMIT TO START  
LATER AME DAY WITH 18 OF 20 HEADS OF ARAB LEAGUE STATES, IDI  
AMIN, ARAFAT AND OAU SECY GEN PRESENT. FON MINS TEMPORARILY  
"RESOLVED" PLO-JORDAN ISSUE IN FORMER'S FAVOR AND ISSUE WILL  
INEVITABLE BE MAJOR PREOCCUPATION OF SUMMIT. MANY OBSERVERS

HERE BELIEVE COMPROMISE MAY BE REACHED, PERHAPS IN SECRET,  
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PAGE 02 STATE 236974

THOUGH POSSIBILITY REMAINS THAT HUSSEIN WILL USE SUMMIT AS  
FORUM FOR PUBLICLY WASHING HIS HANDS OF WEST BANK PROBLEM.  
OBSERVERS SENSE SOME PRIVATE SUPPORT FOR JORDANIANS AND IRRITATION  
AT PLO INTRACTABILITY. ARAB LEAGUE SYG RIAD HAS TOLD AMBASSADOR

HE BELIEVES SOME SATISFACTION OF PALESTINIANS NOW COULD LEAD TO SUBSEQUENT CONSTRUCTIVE TREATMENT OF ISSUE. PRESS ALSO REPORTS SEVEN-POINT PLO APPROVED EGYPTIAN-SYRIAN WORKING DOCUMENT OUTLINING ACTION PLAN FOR COMING PERIOD. SYRIANS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN CRITICAL OF US PEACE EFFORTS. ARAB LEAGUE READY TO SEEK COORDINATED ARAB POSITION ON SAHARA ONCE MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA DEVELOP COMMON POSITION. PLANS FOR AFRT-ARAB SUMMIT HAVE MOVED FORWARD. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING FOUR FULL DAYS (FROM P.M. OCT 22 THROUGH A.M. OCT 26) OF DAY AND NIGHT MEETINGS OF ARAB FON MINS, 7TH ARAB SUMMIT DUE BEGIN AT 1700 LOCAL OCTOBER 26. HEADS OF 18 OF THE 20 ARAB LEAGUE STATES NOW KNOWN TO BE HERE. IRAQ REPRESENTED BY VP SADDAM HUSSEIN, AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT LIBYA'S AMBASSADOR IN PARIS IS ALSO HERE TO HEAD HIS DELEGATION, ALTHOUGH RUMORS THAT JALLUD WILL COME PERSIST. IDI AMIN, ONLY NON-ARAB LEAGUE HEAD OF STATE INVITED, HAS ARRIVED, AS HAVE ARAFAT AND OAU SECY GEN. KING HASSAN HAS MET VIRTUALLY EVERY HEAD OF STATE PERSONALLY ON ARRIVAL, AND HELD MEETINGS ON MORNING OCT 26 WITH SADAT, FAISAL, BOUMEDIENE AND ASAD. HE SCHEDULED SEE HUSSEIN IN P.M.

3. PLO-JORDAN DIFFERENCES: ARAB FON MINS' CONFERENCE REMAINED PREOCCUPIED THROUGHOUT WITH PLO-JORDAN DISPUTE ON PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION QUESTION, AND IN MID-AFTERNOON OCTOBER 25 TEMPORARILY "RESOLVED" ISSUE IN PLO'S FAVOR. IN EARLY AFTERNOON, JORDANIAN AMBASSADOR TO RABAT, ASHEM ABU AMARA, ACTING AS GOJ SPOKESMAN, MADE LONG STATEMENT TO PRESS IN WHICH HE SAID THAT HIS GOVT COULD NOT ACCEPT PLO DEMANDS AS ARTICULATED BY PLO SPOKESMAN SAID KAMAL OCTOBER 24 (PARA 2 RABAT 5222) SINCE JORDAN HAD RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS PALESTINIANS ON BOTH BANKS. AMARA THEN REITERATED JORDAN'S WILLINGNESS TO HAVE REFERENDUM HELD TO DECIDE WEST BANK'S FUTURE. FOLLOWING AMARA'S STATEMENT, KAMAL ANNOUNCED TO PRESS THAT FON MINS, WITH EXCEPTION OF JORDAN'S HAD REAFFIRMED ALGIERS SUMMIT RECOGNITION OF PLO AS SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTINIANS AND HAD ENDORSED THREE-POINT PLO RESOLUTION THAT:  
A. PLO RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL PARTS OF PALESTINE RECOVERED FROM  
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PAGE 03 STATE 236974

ISRAEL; B. PLO HAD RIGHT TO ESTABLISH INDEPENDENT AUTHORITY FOR PALESTINE; AND C. FRONTLINE ARAB STATES SHOULD MAINTAIN "ACTIVE SOLIDARITY" ON MIDEAST MATTERS. FON MINS' POSITION ON PLO-JORDAN PROBLEM WILL BE INSCRIBED IN SUMMIT AGENDA AND MINISTERIAL RECOMMENDATIONS ON OTHER MATTERS WILL ALSO BE PRESENTED TO SUMMIT. APART FROM THIS, AGENDA APPARENTLY REMAINS AS DESCRIBED PARA 1, RABAT 5197.

4. OCT 26 SEMI-OFFICIAL LE MATIN, CONTINUING THAT PAPER'S REMARKABLY FRANK AND LUCID COMMENTARY ON PROCEEDINGS, SAYS THAT FON MINS' ACTION CERTAINLY GIVES PLO "GROUNDS FOR REJOICING," AND NOTES THAT EFFECTS WILL SOON BE FELT AT UNGA. PAPER ADDS THAT DEADLOCK, WHICH HAD BEEN INTENSIFIED BY PLO "BAD HUMOUR" AND

THREAT TO LEAVE CONFERENCE, HAD BEEN REFERRED TO ARAFAT WHO HAD SUGGESTED THAT HIS REPRESENTATIVES CONTACT KING HASSAN. THIS WAS DONE, ACCORDING TO PAPER. HARD TO SAY, PAPER NOTES, WHAT POSITION KING HUSSEIN WILL ADOPT. "POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE DISCARDED THAT HE WILL SURRENDER TO FACTS, GIVEN NECESSITY TO MOVE WITH TIMES AND RENDER JUSTICE TO A PEOPLE WHO HAVE LONG PAID PRICE OF ARAB DISUNITY."

5. VIEWS OF OTHER OBSERVERS VARY CONSIDERABLY. SOME BELIEVE THAT COMPROMISE, WHICH COULD WELL BE SECRET, IS STILL POSSIBLE AND ARGUE THAT, HAD SUCH POSSIBILITY BEEN FORECLOSED, HUSSEIN WOULD NOT HAVE COME TO RABAT. THESE SOURCES NOTE THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE "OFF RECORD" SUPPORT FOR JORDANIAN POSITION AND IRRITATION AT INTRACTABLE PLO STAND. ONE WELL-KNOWN JOURNALIST WITH EXCELLENT ACCESS, HOWEVER, IS CONVINCED THAT HUSSEIN KNOWS HE HAS LOST REPRESENTATION FIGHT AND WILL USE SUMMIT AS FORUM TO ANNOUNCE HIS INTENTION TO BOW TO WILL OF ARAB BROTHERS AND TO WASH HIS HANDS OF PROBLEM OF WEST BANK'S FUTURE.

6. AT A LATE-HOUR SMALL DIPLOMATIC DINNER OCT 26, ARAB LEAGUE SECY GEN MAHMOUD RIAD COMMENTED PRIVATELY TO AMBASSADOR THAT THERE OF COURSE REMAINED SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PALESTINIAN AND JORDANIAN POINTS OF VIEW, BUT THAT NO ONE HAD EXPECTED BEFOREHAND, IF DIFFERENCES WERE SHARP, THAT FON MINS' FORUM COULD RESOLVE THEM. FON MINS' TESF HSD INSTEAD BEEN TO FORMULATE PRECISE DEFINITION OF SITUATION AND TO REFER QUESTION TO CHIEFS OF STATE, RIAD ELABORATED. HE EXPRESSED IDEA THAT IF PALESTINIANS WERE GIVEN SOME SATISFACTION AT THIS STAGE, THIS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 236974

WOULD CREATE BETTER FRAMEWORK FOR SUBSEQUENT CONSTRUCTIVE TREATMENT OF PLO-JORDANIAN PROBLEM.

7. PEACE EFFORTS: MEANWHILE, PRESS PUBLISHES JOINT "EGYPTIAN-SYRIAN WORKING DOCUMENT" SUBMITTED TO FON MINS AND SUPPORTED BY PLO. IN LENGTHY PREAMBLE, DOCUMENT EMPHASIZES NEED FOR ARAB UNITY, LIBERATION OF ALL TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1567 WAR, AND REALIZATION OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL RIGHTS. IT NOTES THAT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS ARE CURRENTLY UNDERWAY ON LEVEL OF TWO SUPERPOWERS AS WELL AS THAT OF OTHER MAJOR POWERS AND VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL GROUPINGS. STRESSING KEY NATURE OF PALESTINIAN QUESTION AND STATING REAFFIRMATION OF ALGIERS SUMMIT RESOLUTIONS, PAPER GOES ON TO ENUMERATE SEVEN-POINT ACTION PROGRAM FOR "COMING DELICATE PHASE". POINTS, IN SUMMARY, ARE: (A) PALESTINIAN CAUSE IS THAT OF ALL ARABS IN EQUAL DEGREE; (B) REJECTION OF ABANDONMENT OF EVEN ONE INCH OF ARAB TERRITORY; (C) COMMITMENT TO LIBERATE ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, WITH NO DISTINCTION MADE BETWEEN SINAI, GOLAN, JERUSALEM, WEST BANK AND GAZA; (D) ALL ARAB TERRITORY LIBERATED SHOULD REVERT TO PALESTINIAN PEOPLE; (E) NO DIFFERENCES AMONG ARABS AS TO OBJECTIVES WILL BE TOLERATED, AND DIVERGENCES OF STYLE AND METHOD MUST BE CONTAINED TO MAXIMUM EXTENT; (F) REFUSAL OF ANY INDIVIDUAL SOLUTION AND

COMMITMENT THAT PEACEFUL POLITICAL SOLUTION BE TOTAL AND FINAL;  
AND (G) DEPARTURE FOR GENEVA AT "OPPORTUNE TIME", AFTER AND  
NOT BEFORE COMPLETION OF COORDINATION OF CONFRONTATION STATES AND  
OF PLO, AND ALSO WITH TWO SUPERPOWERS, GUARANTORS OF  
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

8. SYRIAN VIEWS: FURTHER ON SYRIAN ATTITUDE (RABAT 5222 PARA 6),  
WE UNDERSTAND FROM DIPLOMATIC SOURCE WHO HAD IT FROM EGYPTIAN  
JOURNALIST THAT EARLIER SYRIAN WORKING PAPER (WHICH PRESUMABLY  
NOW OVERTAKEN BY JOINT EGYPTIAN-SYRIAN DOCUMENT DESCRIBED ABOVE)  
WAS VERY CRITICAL OF GENERAL SITUATION AND OF US PEACE EFFORTS,  
WHICH SYRIANS REPORTEDLY SAW AS DESIGNED TO MAKE ARABS LOSE  
VALUABLE TIME AND PREVENT THEM FROM TAKING INITIATIVES OF  
THEIR OWN. SYRIANS ALSO SAID TO HAVE OPPOSED GENEVA CONFERENCE  
AND ARAB PARTICIPATION IN THAT FORUM, FAVORING INSTEAD A SHOW  
OF FORCE BY ARABS, ONCE UNITED.

9. SAHARA: ARAB LEAGUE ASST SECY GEN NOWFAL QUOTED AS SAYING

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PAGE 05 STATE 236974

MATTER CAME UP IN COURSE OF FON MINS' DELIBERATIONS  
ON RELATIONS BETWEEN ARAB STATES AND REST OF WORLD. "FROM  
MOMENT WHEN THERE IS A COMMON MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN POSITION,"  
ARAB LEAGUE WOULD WORK ON MATTER, SEEKING TO COORDINATE ARAB  
POSITIONS BEFORE INTERNATIONAL BODIES. NOWFAL SAID SAHARA HAZ

NOT BEEN SUBMITTED AS AGENDA ITEM FOR SUMMIT, BUT IS RATHER  
WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UNIFIED ARAB ACTION ON INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

10. COOPERATION: FON MINS ALSO CALLED FOR GREATER COOPERATION  
BETWEEN ARABS AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR AND AFRICANS  
IN GENERAL. FOUR NATIONS - ALGERIA, EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA AND  
SUDAN - WILL ARRANGE FOR AFRO-ARAB FON MINS' CONFERENCE, REPORT-  
EDLY TO TAKE PLACE AT ARAB LEAGUE HEADQUARTERS IN CAIRO BEFORE  
END OF YEAR. THIS GATHERING WILL PAVE WAY FOR AFRO-ARB SUMMIT.

11. SECURITY: RABAT HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO VIRTUAL STANDSTILL  
OCT 26. SCHOOLS, OFFICES AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES HAVE BEEN  
CLOSED, PRINCIPAL ROUTES INTO CITY ARE UNDER TIGHT CONTROL,  
GENERAL AREAS SURROUNDING CONFERENCE SITE AND VILLAS WHERE CHIEFS  
OF STATE ARE STAYING ARE COMPLETELY SEALED OFF AND TRAFFIC  
MOVEMENT IN OTHER PARTS OF TOWN IS BEING CLOSELY SCRUTINIZED.

12. COMMENT: WHILE FON MINS APPARENTLY HAVE LITTLE TO SHOW FOR  
THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN PLO AND  
JORDAN, FACT THAT KING HUSSEIN IS ON HAND IN RABAT AS SCHEDULED  
WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE AT LEAST THAT OUTCOME IS STILL OPEN.  
PLO IS CURRENTLY RIDING HIGH, WITH OTHER ARABS SHOWING  
EVIDENT RELUCTANCE TO DISPLAY SYMPATHY FOR JORDANIAN POSITION  
AND NO WILLINGNESS TO TAKE PUBLIC ISSUE WITH TOUGH PALESTINIAN  
PRONOUNCEMENTS HEARD THUS FAR. IN ANY CASE, FON MINS HAVE NOW

SHARPENED FOCUS ON THIS AND OTHER ISSUES, AND CHIEFS OF STATE  
HAVE THEIR WORK CUT OUT FOR THEM.  
NEUMANN UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

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